

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 113 108

RC 008 820

AUTHOR Patella, Victoria M.; Kuvlesky, William P.
TITLE Bilingual Patterns of Nonmetropolitan Mexican American Youth: Variations by Social Context, Language Use, and Historical Change.
INSTITUTION Texas A and M Univ., College Station. Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.
SPONS AGENCY Cooperative State Research Service (DOA), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO TAES-H-2811; USDA (CSRS)-S-81
PUB DATE 21 Aug 75
NOTE 59p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society (San Francisco, Calif., August 21-24, 1975). For related document, see ED 075 156
EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.76 HC-\$3.32 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingualism; English; Followup Studies; Grade 10; High School Students; *Language Patterns; *Language Usage; *Mexican Americans; Oral Communication; *Rural Youth; Social Dialects; Spanish; Standard Spoken Usage
IDENTIFIERS *Texas

ABSTRACT

Based on a 1967 survey of Mexican American high school sophomores conducted in the "border region" of South Texas, this 1973 follow-up study examined the extent to which: (1) historical changes had occurred in the use of Spanish and English by Mexican American boys and girls over the 6-year study period, and (2) the variations in 1973 language usage patterns by sex and situational context were similar or different for oral speech, writing, and reading. The historical changes were examined in reference to (1) oral speech with parents in the home, with neighborhood friends, and with school friends outside of class; and (2) language utilized for mass media such as radio, newspaper, and magazines. In 1967, interviews were conducted in 7 schools located in the counties of Dimmit, Maverick, Starr, and Zapata. In 1973, 2 of the schools were deleted from the 1967 data set due to lack of cooperation. Both years identical questionnaires were given to all high school sophomores (341 in 1967 and 379 in 1973) present on the day of the study. The 1973 questionnaire contained an extended section on language, reading, and writing patterns. Some findings were: females read more magazines and newspapers in Spanish than males; and in 1973, boys indicated use of Spanish more frequently in all settings than girls, and for both, the frequency of Spanish used decreased from the home setting to the neighborhood, and then to the school setting. (NQ)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.



BILINGUAL PATTERNS OF NONMETROPOLITAN
MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH: VARIATIONS
BY SOCIAL CONTEXT, LANGUAGE USE,
AND HISTORICAL CHANGE*

Victoria M. Patella
Chabot College

William P. Kuvlesky
Texas A&M University

(With the assistance of Dennis Medina,
Research Assistant, Texas A&M)

*Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, San Francisco, August 21-24, 1975. This report contributes to Texas Agriculture Experiment Station Project H-2811, "Development of Human Resource Potentials of Rural Youth in the South and Their Patterns of Mobility."

ED113108

RC008820

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A study involving two separate contacts over six years obviously involves a number of workers beyond those listed as author of the report of the data analysis. We wish to acknowledge the assistance of a number of individuals in the Rural Sociology Department at Texas A&M University involved in carrying out this study--without their assistance this report would not have been possible.

Dave Wright and Rumaldo Juarez were instrumental in stimulating the initiation of our study of youth in South Texas and played important roles later in collection and processing of data, analysis, and reporting findings. Randy Dowdell was responsible for carrying out the 1973 contact and was assisted by several graduate and undergraduate assistants--Efrain Escobedo, Esteban Salinas, and Everardo Avila. Esteban Salinas also contributed importantly to the design of the 1973 instrument. Ruth B. Gonzalez was responsible for most of the initial data processing and was assisted by Janet Brown, Marvin Bridges, and Angie Lindley. John Womack provided computer assistance and Stan Wilson helped us with APL computer analysis. Four good and durable secretaries provided the typing required at most stages of the work--Bobbie George, Joan Teel, Kathy Anders, and Sherry Haisler.

Last but certainly not least, our sincere gratitude goes out to the Principals and Students of the following Texas high schools: Zapata, Roma-Los Saenz, Rio Grande City, San Isidro, and Asherton. Without their cordial cooperation this study would never have been done. We hope our work serves their interests well.

THE PROBLEM

The research to be reported here builds upon and extends an earlier study of Spanish and English oral language patterns of Mexican American youth carried out in 1967 (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1973). In 1973 we designed a historical follow-up study to provide answers to two major questions: Are the oral patterns of Spanish vs. English usage of Mexican American youth changing? Are patterns of language usage for reading and writing similar to those for speech? As far as we know little, if anything, in the way of research findings has been reported with respect to either question. At the same time, the increasing interest in bilingualism among Mexican Americans and among educators concerned with Mexican American youth provides a pressing need for such answers.

Our earlier study was limited solely to oral language use over varying social contexts--with parents, with friends in the neighborhood, with friends in school (outside of class), and to mass media language usage--radio and newspapers. The follow-up study provided us with an opportunity to extend our view of language usage to use of English and Spanish in reading and writing over various social contexts. Also, we broadened our coverage in 1973, over 1967, in several additional ways. We added the use of television to our mass media indicators, and we added a social context for speaking, reading and writing not used in 1967--language use in school during classes. Obviously, the 1973 survey provides a much fuller picture of English-Spanish patterns of language use.

Our specific research objective for the analysis to be described here is to address these questions:

- (1) To what extent have historical changes occurred in use of Spanish and English by Mexican American high school boys and

girls over the six year study period in reference to the following:

- (a) Oral speech with parents in the home, with friends in the neighborhood, and with friends in school outside of class.
- (b) Language utilized for mass media in reference to (1) radio and (2) newspaper and magazines.
- (2) To what extent are the variations in 1973 language usage patterns by sex and situational context similar or different for each of three modes of language use--oral speech, writing, and reading?

REVIEW OF RELEVANT RESEARCH

In our earlier report of the 1967 data, we reviewed the research to date concerning language usage patterns of Mexican Americans (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1973). Briefly, language usage was found by Mahoney (1967) to be directly related to urban, versus rural, residence, and to education, American birth, income and occupational level of household head, and inversely correlated with age. Skrabanek (1970), in the same South Texas study, found that Spanish was highly retained, and used far more than English by household heads in a variety of settings, with radio being used equally in Spanish and English, and Spanish television where available. The findings for children were similar, except for the school setting.

Grebler, Moore and Guzman (1970) found Spanish usage to be directly related to the proportion of Mexican Americans in the neighborhood, and inversely related to income. These researchers also found that Spanish language radio was preferred over English in largely Mexican American neighborhoods, regardless of income, and among the poorer residents of mixed neighborhoods. Preference for Spanish television was related to low-income and the predominance of Mexican Americans in the neighborhood. It was also observed that the Spanish language press was not "a serious competitor for the English-language press."

Sex differentials were not investigated in any of the reported research reviewed above, except for our 1967 study. Since our earlier report, we are aware of only two other research efforts into language usage patterns of Mexican American youth: a study of Southern Colorado youth done in 1969 and an El Paso study carried out by Venegas in 1973 (Kuvlesky, 1973). Venegas

replicated our 1967 instruments and operations and his findings generally indicated a strong comparability to those of our 1967 investigation of nonmetropolitan Mexican American youth in South Texas (Kuvlesky, 1973: 11-15).⁶ The findings from the Southern Colorado study were difficult to compare with ours because of differences in instruments utilized; however, it appears that Mexican American youth in Southern Colorado utilized Spanish much less than the South Texas youth we studied and the El Paso youth studied by Venegas (Kuvlesky, 1973: 13).

As far as we can determine, no published research results exist pertaining to the question of whether use of Spanish is declining among Mexican American youth of any type. Certainly, leaders of the Chicano movement over the last few years have shown concern about this, and have strongly urged the need for Chicanos to use Spanish.

In summary, the scant amount of research reported in the past on language usage patterns of Mexican American youth on oral patterns and utilization of mass media indicates a high retention rate of Spanish, particularly in Texas and among the poor. Also, evidence exists to indicate that the frequency of Spanish use may vary by rural-urban residence, SES, sex status, age, nativity, and region of the country. These statements should be viewed as propositions to be evaluated by future research and not empirical generalizations due to the limited amount of extant research and the difficulty in obtaining good comparability in comparing findings across these studies as a result of variations in time of study, research operations, and instruments.

COLLECTION OF DATA

The analysis reported here is based on an original survey of Mexican American high school sophomores carried out in the "border region" of South Texas in the Spring of 1967 and a restudy survey completed in the Spring of 1973.

The process began in 1967 with the selection of four South Texas counties adjacent to or in close proximity to the United States-Mexico border (Dimmit, Maverick, Starr, and Zapata) that exhibited the following characteristics: (1) location in a rural and nonmetropolitan area, (2) a high frequency of family poverty and (3) proportionately high concentration of Mexican Americans (Juarez and Kuvlesky, 1968:6). In 1967 interviews were conducted in seven schools located in these counties. The 1973 effort could not enlist the cooperation of two of these schools, including the only one in Maverick county, and these schools were deleted from the 1967 data set for this analysis (Kuvlesky and Monk, 1975).

Extensive efforts were made to duplicate the 1967 field procedures in the 1973 study. All high school sophomores present on the day of the study were given questionnaires and immediately assured of the confidentiality of their responses. A trained graduate student read each item aloud giving the students enough time to complete their responses before proceeding. The questionnaires distributed were identical with respect to the variables involved in the historical analysis and in most other respects (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1973). The 1973 questionnaire differed from the 1967 one mainly in respect to additional sets of items-- one of these was the extended section on language patterns, reading and

writing patterns of subject (see APPENDIX A). No efforts were made to contact those students not present on the day of the interview. In 1967 about 85 percent of those reported to be enrolled were present and completed the questionnaire and in 1973 the figure was 80 percent.

The 1967 data netted 341 Mexican American respondents as compared with 379 for the 1973 effort. Those students who did not identify themselves as Mexican American were deleted from this analysis (See APPENDIX B, Table 1). The surveyed portions of the sophomore class in the schools involved in the study ranged from a low of 22 to a high of 168 in the 1967 effort and from 25 to 181 in 1973.

HISTORICAL CHANGE

Obviously any changes observed in the language patterns of the youth studied could be influenced by the patterns of historical change taking place in their communities, schools, and families. A description of such patterns should have utility for interpretation of these findings.¹ The general study area involved demonstrated the following patterns of historical change between 1960 and 1970, according the U.S. Census data (Kuvlesky and Monk, 1975): (1) an increase in an already proportionately large majority of Mexican Americans;² (2) a general rise in level of education and; (3) an apparent improvement of general economic conditions-- fewer families in poverty and fewer people working as unskilled laborers.³

No dramatic changes took place in reference to school facilities. In general it can be presumed that the schools became a bit more crowded and that some of them exhibited deteriorating physical facilities and equipment. A follow up probe aimed at ascertaining the general availability of Spanish language reading materials in the school and communities and

the attitudes of school administrators toward bilingual patterns in the schools was made by Michael Miller.⁴ Generally, it was observed that little in the way of written Spanish was in evidence in the schools--outside of what was used in formal Spanish classes--or in the communities (i.e., newspapers or magazines). Also, it is safe to conclude that most school administrators were not strongly encouraging bilingual patterns and a few even felt that to do so would be harmful to the students.

Information obtained from the students indicate little change took place in reference to the families of the respondents over the six year study period. A slight increase in parental education was noted. Also there was a tendency for fewer fathers to be gainfully employed in 1973 than in 1967 (Kuvlesky and Monk, 1975).⁵

FINDINGS

The findings from the analysis are presented in three parts. The first section deals with the results of the historical comparison of data collected from the same study area in 1967 and 1973. The second section presents the new data, gathered only in 1973, expanding the examination of language use in reading and writing. The third section reports the new data concerning the respondents' perceptions of language usage patterns of parents and friends. In all three parts, language usage is examined by social context and sex. Chi Square tests were utilized to determine the statistical significance of differences observed throughout the analysis.

1. HISTORICAL CHANGE, 1967-1973

Speaking Patterns

Almost every Mexican American teenager involved in this study in both 1967 and 1973 indicated they could speak Spanish: only four in 1967 and half that number in 1973 indicated they could not. Yet, as we know from earlier analysis of our 1967 data, the ability to speak Spanish does not ensure it will be used, or used to the same extent in all social settings. Our 1967 findings indicated that in oral speech boys used Spanish more often than girls and that the use of Spanish declined rather markedly for both in informal settings away from the home (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1973). Have things changed since 1967?

Language Use With Parents (Table 1 and Figure 1)

In 1967, Mexican American boys claimed to use mostly Spanish with their parents more often than girls, who tended to claim equal amounts of both English and Spanish. Only small proportions of either males or females claimed using mostly English. In 1973, that pattern had not changed significantly. The overall pattern of strong Spanish dominance persisted with males somewhat more Spanish dominant than females.

Language Use With Close Friends In The Neighborhood (Table 2 and Figure 2)

In 1967, males claimed use of mostly Spanish more often than females in talking with friends in the neighborhood, while females again preferred "equal amounts of both." In 1973, females again reported being less Spanish dominant than males. The difference between the 1967 and 1973 responses for females are statistically significant, but not large enough to be sociologically meaningful. However, there is a discernable pattern in the changes from 1967 to 1973 for both males and females--the "both" category decreased while the mostly English and mostly Spanish categories both increased.

Language Use With Close Friends In School-Out Of Class (Table 3 and Figure 3)

In 1967, males preferred the mostly Spanish category significantly more often than females, while the females more often chose the mostly English category. The two groups chose "both" at about the same rate. In 1973, there were significant changes for both sexes. The males continue to be more Spanish dominant than the females, but the preference for the mostly Spanish category has increased significantly for both

Table 1. Language Pattern Predominantly Used in Speaking with Parents by Sex for 1967 and 1973 Respondents.

Language Pattern *	Male		Female		Total	
	1967 N	1973 N	1967 N	1973 N	1967 N	1973 N
English	8	17	15	13	23	30
Both	35	39	70	50	105	136
Spanish	126	120	87	90	213	210
Total	169	176	172	200	341	376
No Info	0	2	0	1	0	3

$$\chi^2 = 3.46$$

$$d.f. = 2$$

$$P = >.1, <.2$$

$$\chi^2 = 2.47$$

$$d.f. = 2$$

$$P = >.2, <.3$$

$$\chi^2 = 3.23$$

$$D.F. = 2$$

$$P = >.1, <.2$$

Table 2. Language Pattern Predominantly Used in Speaking with Close Friends in Neighborhood by Sex for 1967 and 1973 Respondents.

Language Pattern *	Male		Female		Total	
	1967 N	1973 N	1967 N	1973 N	1967 N	1973 N
English	19	23	30	51	49	74
Both	61	49	112	107	173	156
Spanish	89	104	30	42	119	146
Total	169	176	172	200	341	376
No Info	0	2	0	1	0	3

$$\chi^2 = 2.71$$

$$d.f. = 2$$

$$P = >.2, <.3$$

$$\chi^2 = 5.48$$

$$d.f. = 2$$

$$P = >.06, <.07$$

$$\chi^2 = 7.02$$

$$D.F. = 2$$

$$P = >.02, <.03$$

* The stimulus question asked for the language pattern "usually" used (see APPENDIX A, Item #30).

Figure 1. A Comparison of Language Used with Parents
in 1967 and 1973, by Sex

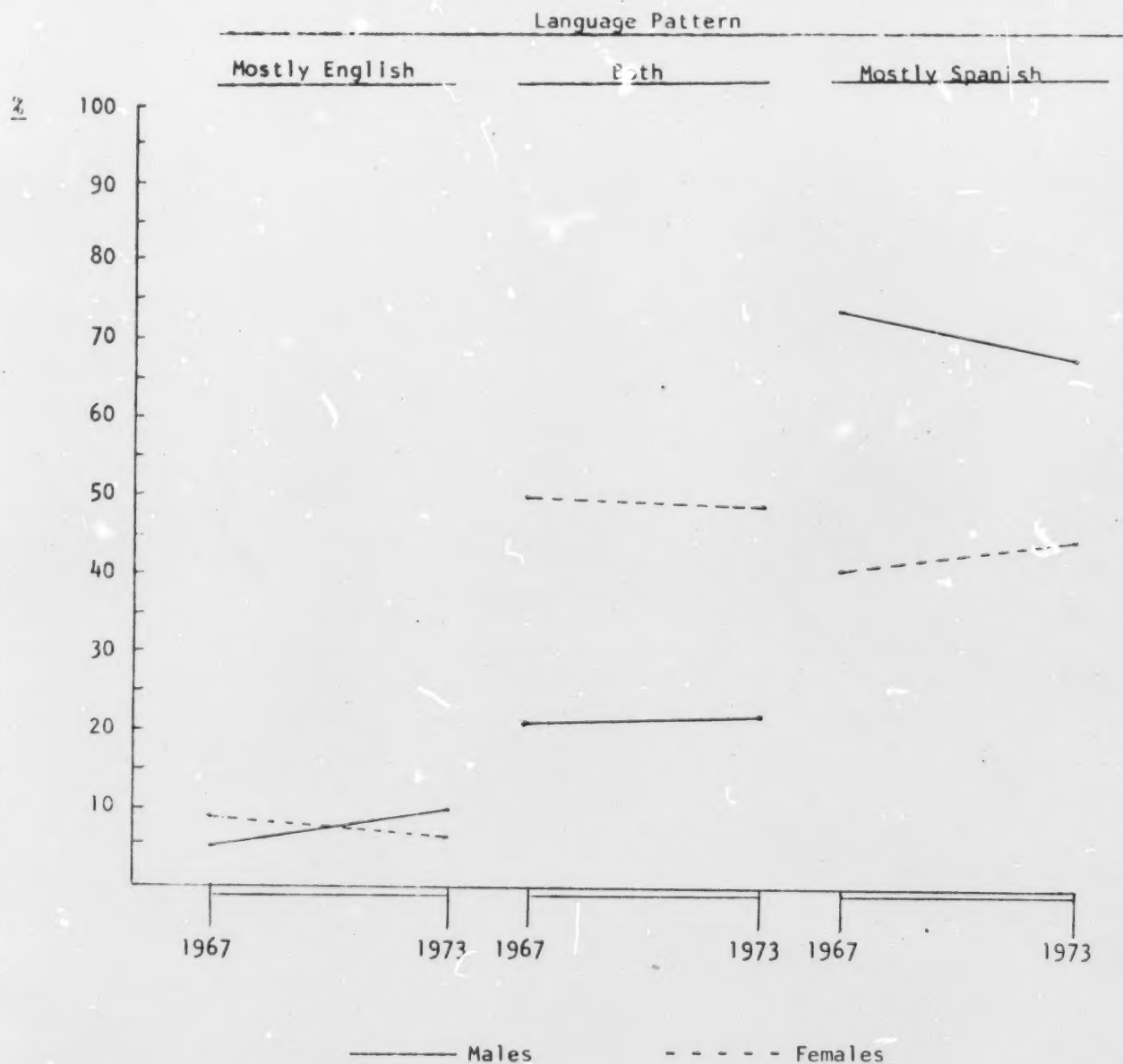


Figure 2. A Comparison of Language Used with Close Friends in the Neighborhood in 1967 and 1973, by Sex.

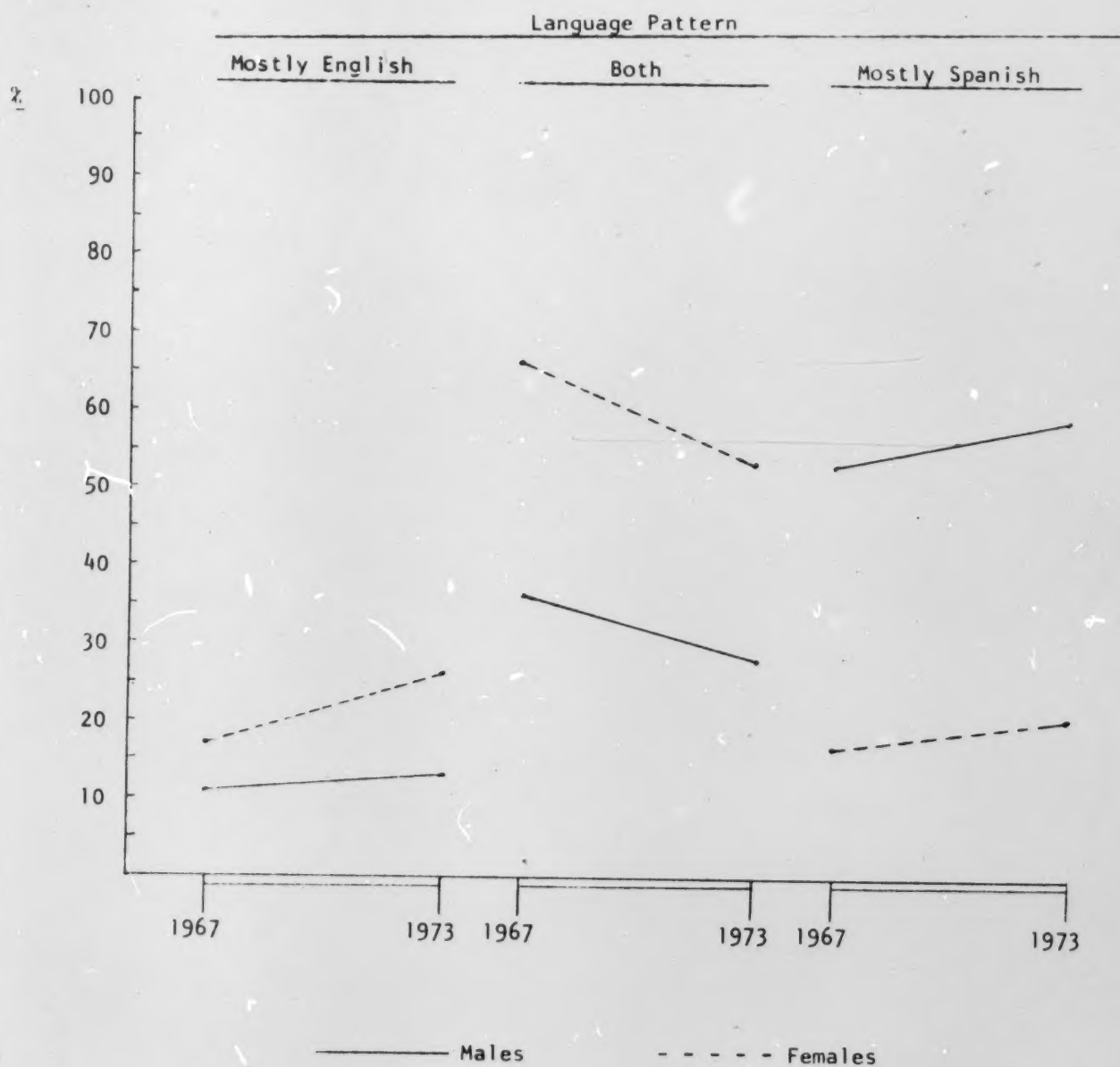


Table 3. Language Patterns Predominantly Used in Speaking with Close Friends in School, Outside of Class by Sex, for 1967 and 1973 Respondents.

Language * Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	1967		1967		1967	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
English	34	20	34	19	97	28
Both	86	51	45	26	183	54
Spanish	49	29	97	55	61	18
Total	169	100	176	100	341	100

No Info 0 2 0 1 0 3

$\chi^2 = 28.48$
d.f. = 2
P = <.001

$\chi^2 = 10.74$
d.f. = 2
P = >.001, <.01

$\chi^2 = 28.14$
D.F. = 2
P = <.001

-USE OF SPANISH WITH MASS MEDIA-

Table 4. Frequency of Use of Spanish Language Radio Programs by Sex for 1967 and 1973 Respondents.

Use of Spanish	Male		Female		Total	
	1967		1967		1967	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	28	16	37	21	70	20
Some	99	59	95	53	190	56
More 1/2	30	18	32	18	60	18
All	12	7	14	8	21	6
Total	169	100	172	100	341	100

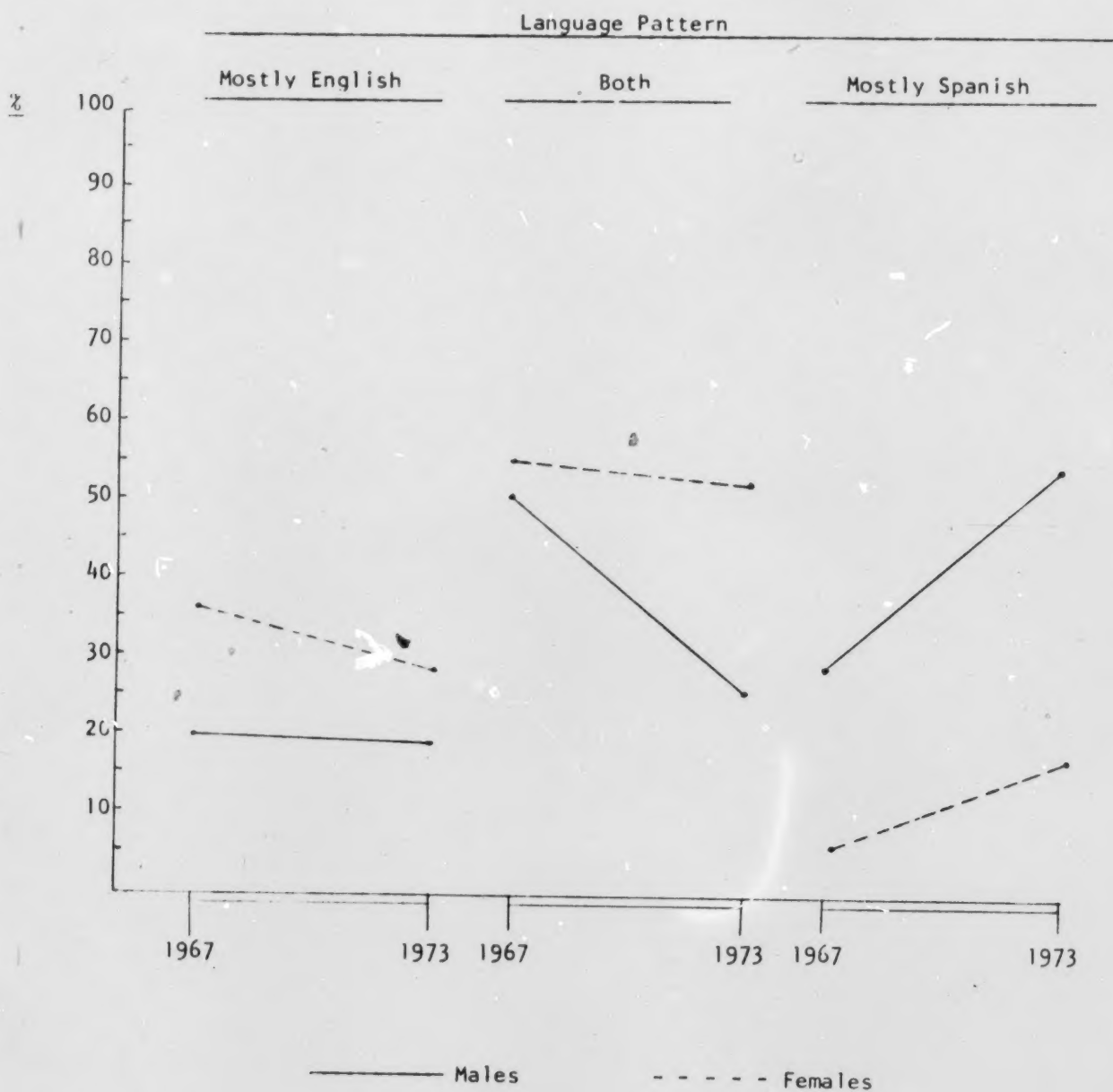
No Info 0 0 0 0 0 0

$\chi^2 = 1.31$
d.f. = 3
P = >.7, <.8

$\chi^2 = 0.55$
d.f. = 3
P = >.9, <.95

$\chi^2 = 1.27$
D.F. = 3
P = >.7, <.8

Figure 3. A Comparison of Language Used with Close Friends
in School (Out of Class) in 1967 and 1973, by Sex



sexes, while the "both" category has decreased for males and the mostly English category decreased for females.

Use of Mass Media

In 1967, about a fourth of the respondents claimed to listen mostly or only to Spanish language radio, and well over three-fourths of both groups claimed to listen to at least some Spanish radio (Table 4 and Figure 4). There were no sex differences. The 1973 data reveal no notable change in these patterns.

In 1967, only very small proportions of either males or females reported doing "more than half or all" of their newspaper and magazine reading in Spanish (Table 5 and Figure 5). However, significantly more males than females claimed to read "none" in Spanish, and more females than males claimed "some" reading in Spanish. In 1973, these English dominant patterns persist, although there is a significant decrease in the proportion of females who claim "none."

Patterns Across the Various Settings (Figure 6)

The 1967 data indicated a consistent pattern, for both males and females, of substantial reduction in Spanish as the home setting is compared with the neighborhood and the school. For instance, one third as many spoke "mostly Spanish" with friends in school as with parents. And the reverse was true for English. In 1973, the patterned decrease in Spanish in moving away from the home setting persists, though the pattern is not quite as strong--about half as many speak "mostly Spanish" with friends in school as with parents. Likewise the increase in English persists, but is not quite as strong.

Figure 4. A Comparison of Use of Spanish Radio Programs
in 1967 and 1973, by Sex

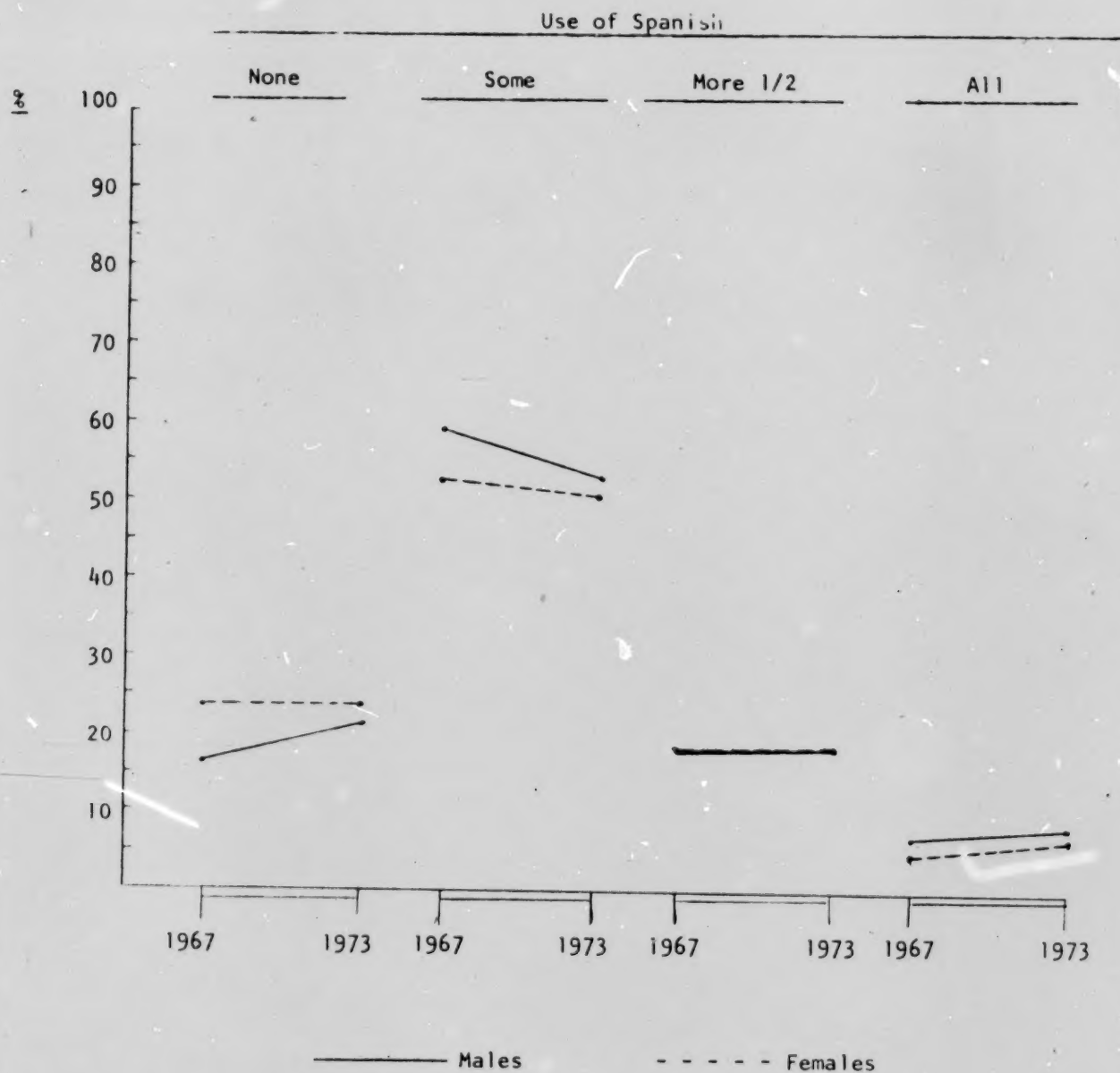


Table 5. Frequency of Use of Spanish Language Newspapers and Magazines by Sex for 1967 and 1973 Respondents.

Use of Spanish	Male				Female				Total			
	1967		1973		1967		1973		1967		1973	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	116	69	118	67	96	56	91	45	212	62	209	
Some	48	28	53	30	71	41	39	44	119	35	142	
More 1/2	4	2	3	2	5	3	15	8	9	3	18	
All	1	1	2	1	0	0	6	3	1	0	8	
Total	169	100	176	100	172	100	201	100	341	100	377	100

$\chi^2 = 0.6$
 $d.f. = 3$
 $P = >.8, <.9$

$\chi^2 = 10.97$
 $d.f. = 3$
 $P = >.01, <.05$

$\chi^2 = 8.71$
 $d.f. = 3$
 $P = >.03, <.04$

Table 6. Summary of Results of Chi Square Tests on Sex Differences in Language Usage Patterns for 1967 and 1973 - Use of Spanish.

Patterns	1967		1973	
	P	Nature of Diff.	P	Nature of Diff.
<u>Speaking</u>				
With Parents	<.001	M>F	<.001	M>F
Close Friends-Neighborhood	<.001	M>F	<.001	M>F
School (Out of Class)	<.001	M>F	<.001	M>F
<u>Mass Media</u>				
Radio	.32	---	>.80	---
Newspaper and Magazine	.06	M<F (-)	<.001	M<F (+)

Figure 5. A Comparison of Use of Spanish Language Newspapers and Magazines in 1967 and 1973,, by Sex

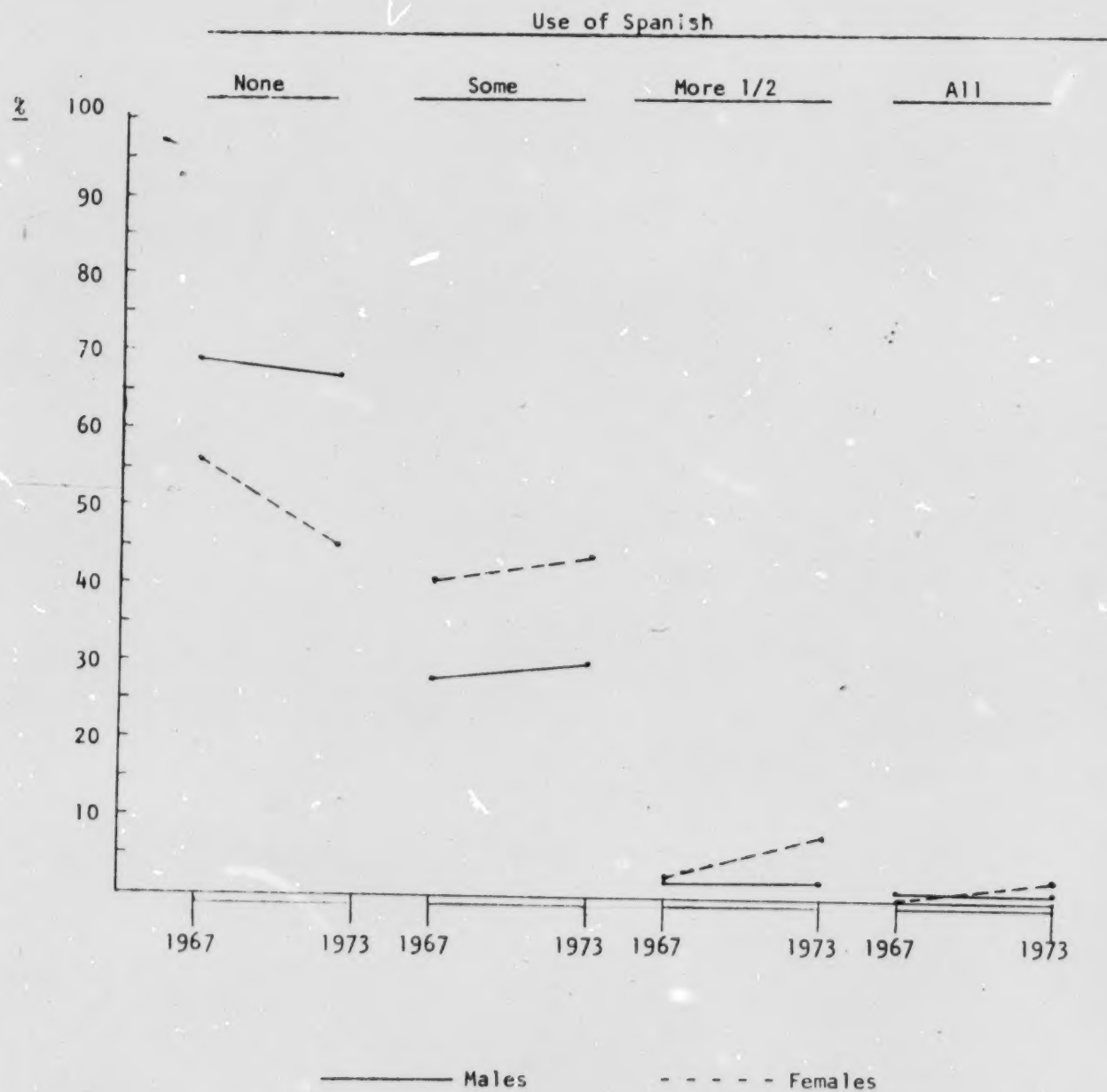
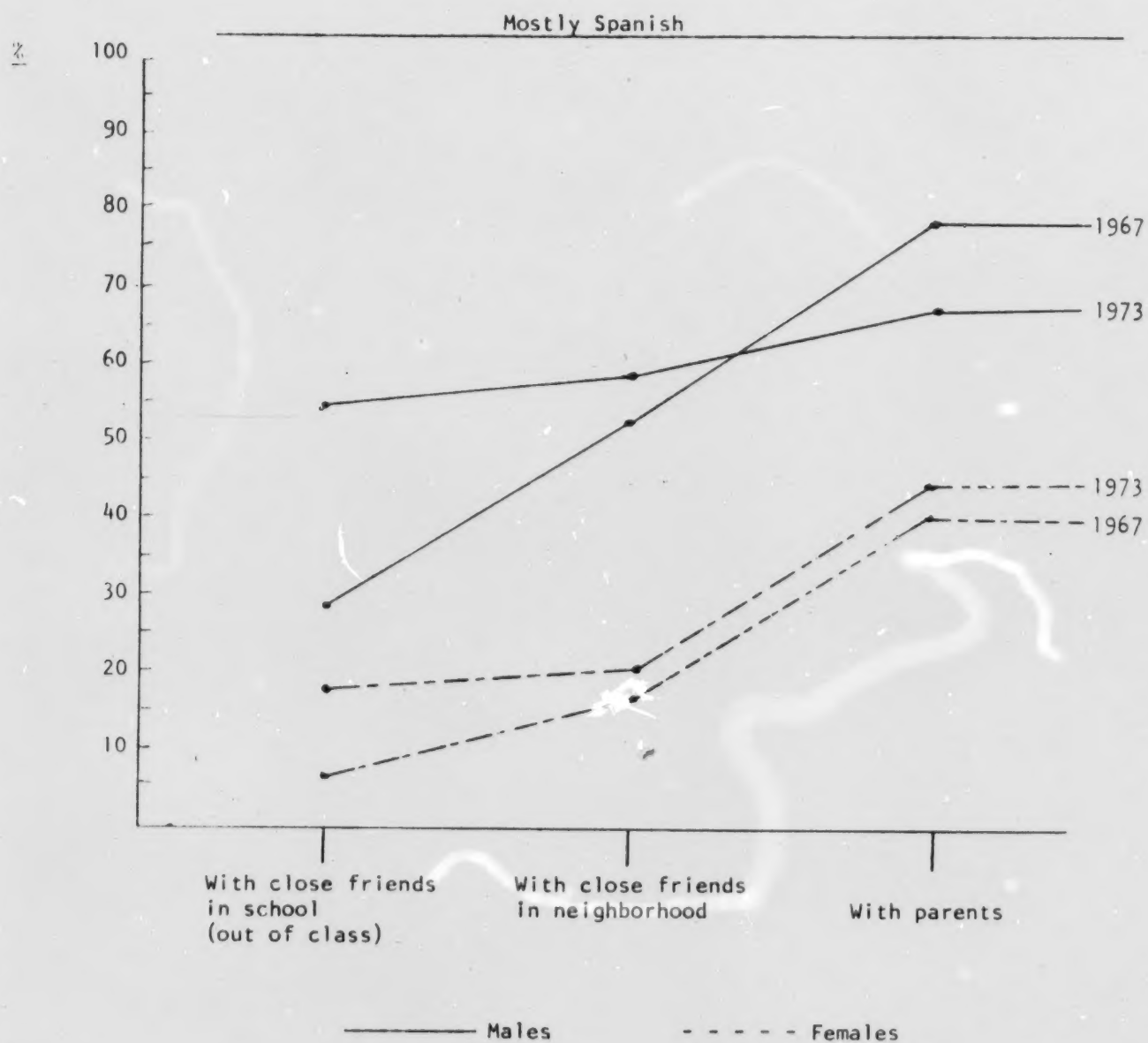


Figure 6. Predominant Use of Spanish Across the Various Settings: 1967 to 1973, by Sex



The greater Spanish dominance of males existed in all three of these oral language settings. However, the reverse is true for the use of written language--in the case of reading of magazines and newspapers, females are more Spanish dominant and males more English dominant.

Males and Females Compared

A summary comparison of findings on differences in these situational patterns by sex for 1967 and 1973 indicate clearly there was no marked change over the six year period in this regard (Table 6). Males indicated using Spanish more often than females in all oral situations and females indicated using Spanish in reading mass literature more often than boys. No sex difference was observed in listening to radio programs in Spanish.

Summary of Results on Change

A summary presentation of our results of the analysis of historical change generally indicate that little changed in the bilingual language patterns included (Table 7). Among the oral patterns the only change noted was an increase for both boys and girls in use of Spanish with friends in school (outside of class). The only other change was a slight increase in reading of mass literature in Spanish. A look at the actual percentage change in use of Spanish to any extent and use of mostly Spanish for the two contacts gives a clearer picture of the magnitude of changes taking place (Table 8). The boys demonstrated very little change in either regard except for talking with friends in school--in this case there was a dramatic increase of 26% using mostly Spanish. The girls demonstrated a more uneven pattern of percentage change. However, again the most marked change was in reference to

Table 7. Summary of Chi Square Results of Historical Change in Use of Spanish vs. English by Sex: 1967-1973.

Language Pattern	Differences, 1967-1973					
	Males			Females		
	P	Nature	Magn.	P	Nature	Magn.
<u>Speaking Spanish</u>						
Do you Speak Spanish	>.8	--	--	>.9	--	--
With Parents	>.1,<.2	--	--	>.2,<.3	--	--
Friends - Neighborhood	>.2,<.3	--	--	>.06,<.07	--	--
School (Out of Class)	<.001	>Sp.	Marked	>.001,<.01	>Sp.	Slight
<u>Mass Media</u>						
Radio	>.7	--	--	>.9	--	--
Newspaper and Magazines	>.8	--	--	>.01,<.05	>Sp.	Slight

Table 8. Summary of Patterns of Historical Change by Sex in Use of Spanish to Any Extent and in Using Mostly Spanish: 1967-1973.

Language Patterns	Percent Using Spanish To Any Extent			Percent Using Only Spanish		
	67	73	Change in %	67	73	Change in
<u>A. Boys</u>						
Parents	95	90	-5	74	68	-6
Friends-Neighborhood	89	87	-2	53	59	+6
School (Out of Class)	80	81	+1	29	55	+26
Radio *	84	79	-5	7	8	+1
Newspaper and Magazines *	31	33	+2	1	3	+2
<u>B. Girls</u>						
Parents	91	94	+3	41	45	+4
Friends-Neighborhood	83	74	-9	17	21	+4
School (Out of Class)	63	71	+8	7	18	+11
Radio *	76	76	0	5	7	+2
Newspaper and Magazine *	44	55	+11	0	3	+3

* Figures represent proportions using only Spanish in these cases.

talking with friends in school--the percentage more than doubled (from 7 to 18). This is the only case for the girls where a substantial change in use of only Spanish took place.

One cannot help but observe the almost totally consistent patterned increase in percentage change across all settings for both boys and girls in predominant use of Spanish (see Table 8). Only in one case was there a decrease in percent predominantly using Spanish--for boys in speaking to parents.

II. 1973 STUDY: MODES OF LANGUAGE USE

The great majority of both males and females reported in 1973 that they speak, read and write Spanish. Nearly all speak it, with decreasing numbers claiming reading, and then writing skills, but the proportion even in that latter category is over 75% for the sample as a whole (Table 9).⁷ Females claim to be able to read and write Spanish more often than males.

More than half of the respondents have taken a Spanish course in school, with no significant differences between males and females in this regard (Table 10).

Oral Patterns

Oral patterns were treated above, in comparison with data on the same items from the 1967 study. In 1973, boys indicated use of Spanish more frequently in all settings than girls, and for both, the frequency of Spanish used decreased from the home setting to the neighborhood, and then to the school setting (see Tables 1, 2 and 3). One new

Table 9. A Comparison of Self-Indicated Ability to Use Spanish in Speaking, Reading and Writing by Sex, 1973.

Use of Spanish	Male	Female	Total
	-----% Indicating Use of Spanish-----		
Speaking	98	100	99
Reading*	80	88	84
Writing*	69	82	76

* Difference by sex are statistically significant at the .05 level of P according to results of Chi Square tests. (see APPENDIX B, Table 2, 3, and 4.)

Table 10. Have you Taken a Spanish Course in School?

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	100	56	123	62	223	59
No	78	44	76	38	154	41
Total	178	100	199	100	377	100
No Info	0		2		2	

$$\chi^2 = 1.23$$

$$D.F. = 1$$

$$P = >.26, <.27$$

item on oral patterns was included in the 1973 study: language used in most classes at school. Consistent with the findings concerning other oral patterns, males were significantly more Spanish dominant than females, reporting use of "mostly Spanish" in class five times as often as females (Table 11). But the group is, nonetheless, fairly English dominant, with more than half indicating "mostly English," most of the rest indicating "both," and only a small proportion indicating "mostly Spanish." Also, it should be noted that the use of mostly Spanish is the lowest in this setting--the only formal context of language use studied. Only nine percent of the total sample used mostly Spanish in school classes. One might ask how they managed to do this?

Reading Patterns (Tables 12, 13, 14, and 15)

Both males and females are highly English dominant in their reading patterns, with the proportion reporting "mostly English" ranging from 60% to over 90% across the three settings--at home, at school outside class, and at school in class. Only very small proportions claim "mostly Spanish" in any of the three settings--never more than eight percent. Male/female differences are statistically significant in the latter two cases, but are in fact too small to be of sociological significance.

Although less than half the respondents were involved, English dominated reading "on the job" for those who had ever worked--differences by sex were not significant.

Writing Patterns (Tables 16, 17, 18 and 19)

Writing patterns parallel those for reading. Male/female

Table 11. Language Used in Speaking in Most Classes in School by Sex, 1973.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	78	45	112	56	190	51
Mostly Spanish	27	15	6	3	33	9
Both	<u>69</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>151</u>	<u>40</u>
Total	174	100	200	100	374	100
No Info.	3		1		4	

$$\chi^2 = 18.85 \quad \text{D.F.} = 2$$

$$P = < .001$$

Table 12. Language Used in Reading at Home by Sex.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	97	65	101	56	198	60
Mostly Spanish	4	3	10	6	14	4
Both	<u>47</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>116</u>	<u>36</u>
Total	148	100	180	100	328	100
No Info.	30		21		51	

$$\chi^2 = 3.74 \quad \text{D.F.} = 2$$

$$P = > .10, < .20$$

Table 13. Language Used in Reading in School, Outside of Class by Sex.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	112	76	126	69	238	72
Mostly Spanish	12	8	4	2	16	5
Both	<u>23</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>23</u>
Total	147	100	182	100	329	100

No Info. 31 19 50

$$\chi^2 = 12.45 \quad D.F. = 2$$

$$P = >.001, <.01$$

Table 14. Language Used in Reading in Class by Sex.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	134	91	170	94	304	93
Mostly Spanish	6	4	0	0	6	2
Both	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	147	100	181	100	328	100

No Info. 31 20 51

$$\chi^2 = 7.71 \quad D.F. = 2$$

$$P = >.01, <.05$$

Table 15. Language Used in Reading on Job for Those Ever Employed by Sex.

Language Pattern	Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	60	64	56	73	116	68
Mostly Spanish	9	9	4	5	13	8
Both	<u>25</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>24</u>
Total	94	100	77	100	171	100
No Info.	35		21		56	
Never Employed	49		103		152	

$$\chi^2 = 1.91$$

D.F. = 2

$$P = >.6, <.7$$

Table 16. Language Used in Writing at Home by Sex.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	81	62	101	60	182	61
Mostly Spanish	18	14	15	9	33	11
Both	<u>32</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>28</u>
Total	131	100	168	100	299	100
No Info.	47		33		80	

$$\chi^2 = 2.7$$

D.F. = 2

$$P = >.2, <.3$$

Table 17. Language Used in Writing in School, Outside of Class by Sex.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	110	84	139	82	249	83
Mostly Spanish	10	8	3	2	13	4
Both	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>13</u>
Total	131	100	169	100	300	100
No Info.	47		32		79	

$$\chi^2 = 9.22 \quad \text{D.F.} = 2$$

$$P = >.01, <.05$$

Table 18. Language Used in Writing in Class by Sex

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	126	96	158	94	284	95
Mostly Spanish	3	2	2	1	5	2
Both	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	131	100	169	100	300	100
No Info	47		32		79	

$$\chi^2 = 3.5 \quad \text{D.F.} = 2$$

$$P = >.01, <.05$$

Table 19. Language Used in Writing on Job by Sex

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	66	80	55	89	121	84
Mostly Spanish	5	6	1	1	6	4
Both	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>12</u>
Total	83	100	62	100	145	100
No Info	49		34		83	
Never Employed	46	36	105	63	151	51

$$\chi^2 = 2.68 \quad \text{D.F.} = 2$$

$$P = >.26, <.27$$

Table 20. How Many TV Programs you Watch are in Spanish?

Spanish Programs Watched	Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
None	59	33	66	33	125	33
Some	92	52	103	51	195	51
More than 1/2	20	11	18	9	38	10
All	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	178	100	201	100	379	100

$$\chi^2 = 2.06 \quad \text{D.F.} = 3$$

$$P = >.50, <.60$$

differences are negligible--statistically significant in only the "at school-outside class case," and even there still too small to be meaningful. The "mostly English" category is claimed by over 60% of the respondents for writing at home, 83% for school outside class, 84% for on the job and 95% for school in class. So writing patterns are clearly English dominant. The proportions reporting "mostly Spanish" are higher than for reading, but still never exceed fourteen percent.

Mass Media Use (Table 20)

Radio use, and reading of magazines and newspapers in Spanish were treated above in the historical comparison. Although radio listening patterns are English dominant, most respondents listened to some radio in Spanish. The same pattern exists for reading, but females in this case are significantly more Spanish dominant than males. Relative to watching of TV in Spanish, there are no male/female differences. About half of both groups indicate watching at least some TV in Spanish, and if the "more than half" and "all" categories are added to that, two-thirds of the sample watch some TV in Spanish. This approaches closely what was observed for listening to Spanish language radio programs (see Table 4).

Summary of Findings - 1973 Study

Sex Differences (Table 21)

The most widespread and most substantial differences in language patterns between the Mexican American boys and girls studied were in reference to oral patterns--males indicated more frequent use of Spanish in all settings in 1973. In reference to reading and writing, males

Table 21. Summary of Sex Differences in Frequency of Use of Spanish
in Speaking, Reading, and Writing in Different Social Contexts, 1973.

Language Pattern	Sex Differences		
	P	Nature of Diff.*	Magnit.
<u>Speaking Spanish</u>			
Do you speak Spanish	>.20,<.30	None	None
With Parents	<.001	M>F	Marked
Neighborhood Friends	<.001	M>F	Marked
School (Out of Class)	<.001	M>F	Marked
School Classes	<.001	M>F	Slight
<u>Reading Spanish</u>			
Can you read Spanish	>.01,<.05	M<F	Slight
At Home	>.10,<.20	M<F	Slight
In Class	>.01,<.05	M>F	Very slight
School (out of class)	>.001,<.01	M<F	Slight
On the Job	>.6	None	None
<u>Writing Spanish</u>			
Can you write Spanish	>.001,<.01	M<F	Slight
At Home	>.2,<.3	None	None
In Class	>.10,<.20	None	None
School (out of class)	>.01,<.05	M<F	Very slight
On the Job	>.20,<.30	M>F	Very slight
<u>Mass Media-Spanish</u>			
Radio	>.80	None	None
T.V.	>.50	None	None
Magazines	<.001	M<F	Marked

* Use of Spanish

and females differed either only slightly or not at all in their language usage patterns. However, when differences did exist between the two groupings in reference to these two later modes of usage, females tended to use Spanish slightly more often. Only in reference to one type of mass media--magazines and newspapers--did males and females differ markedly: females used more Spanish.

Situational Variation in Language Patterns

The 1973 findings clearly indicate a consistent pattern of decreasing use of Spanish in speaking as one moves through informal social contexts of interaction with significant other from the home, through neighborhood, to out-of-class situations in school. And, the least Spanish was used in the only formal social context included, school classes. Similar progressive increases in use of English instead of Spanish as one moves in informal situations away from the home and then to formal contexts can also be observed for reading and writing patterns (Figures 7 and 8). Always, the most frequent use of Spanish was in the context of the family and home. Conversely, the least use of Spanish was always indicated to be in school classes.

Variations by Language Usage Mode

The results indicate quite clearly that most use of the Spanish language by these respondents was in oral situations. Similar patterns of predominant use of English over all situations existed in reference to both reading and writing (see Figures 7 and 8). Few boys or girls used mostly Spanish in these ways (Figures 9 and 10). And, only small proportions used both languages equally in writing and in reading, except for reading at home (Figures 11 and 12).

Figure 7. Proportions of Respondents Using Mostly English in Different Reading Situations in 1973, by Sex

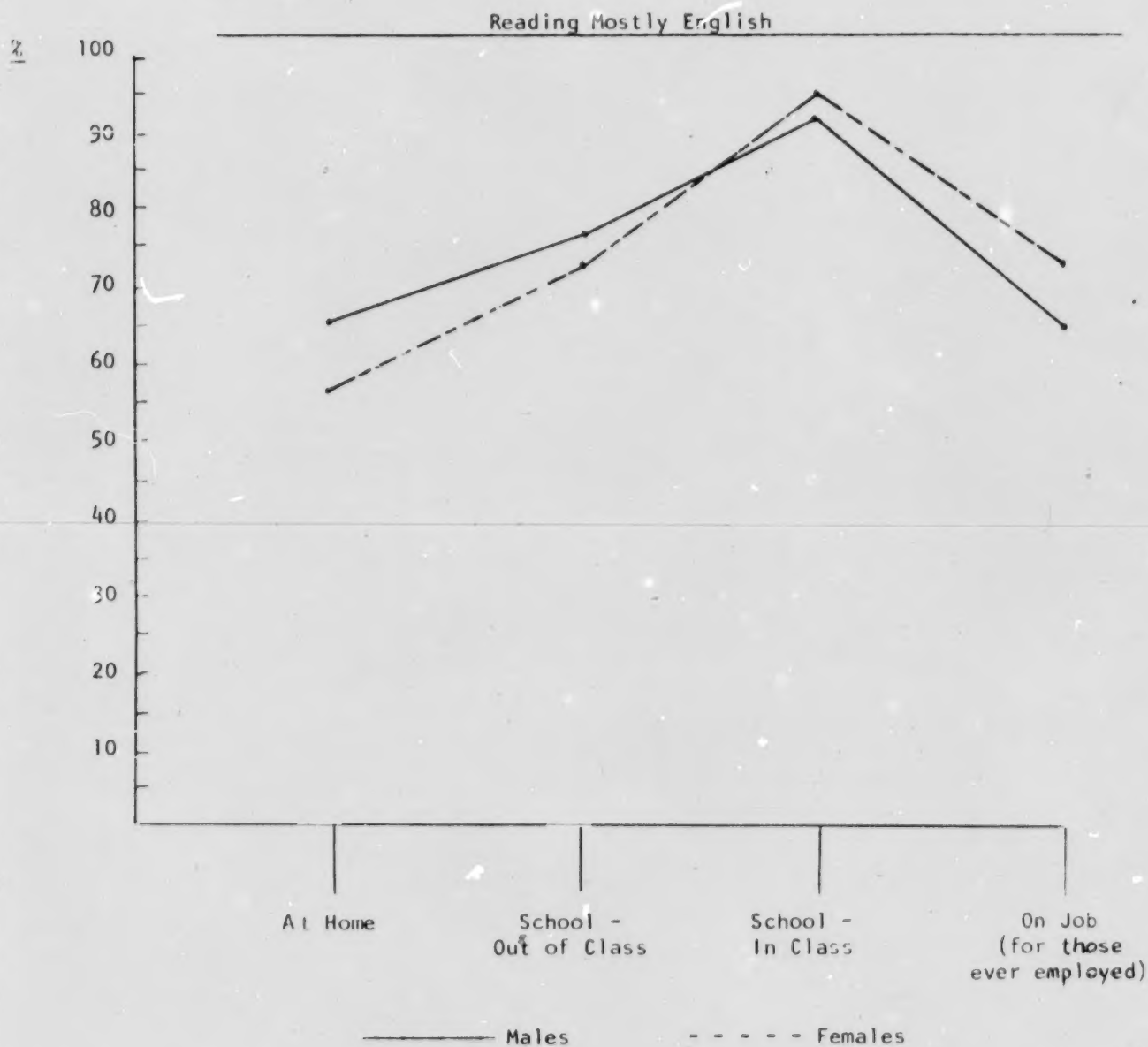


Figure 8. Proportions of Respondents Using Mostly English in Different Writing Situations in 1973, by Sex

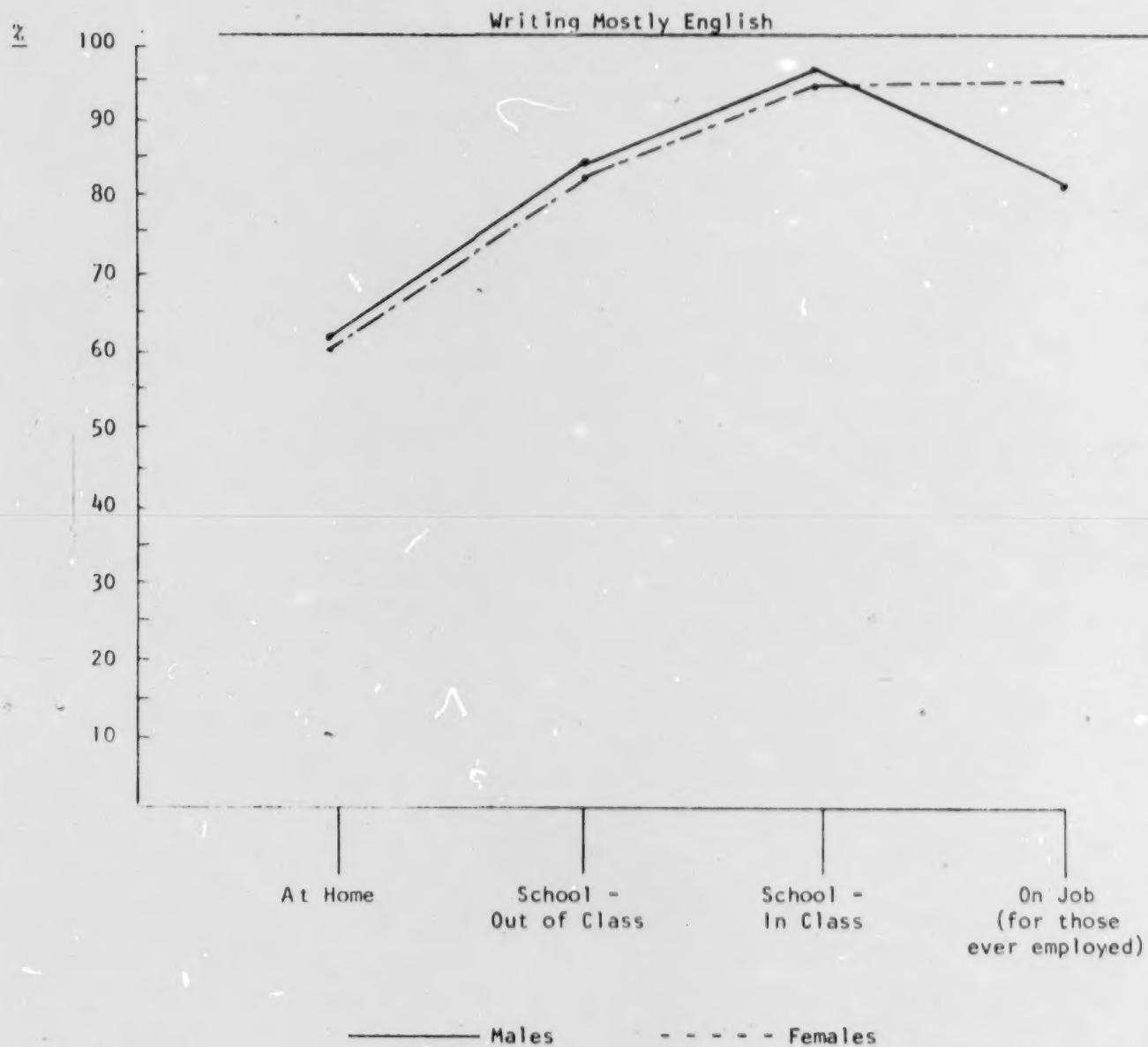


Figure 9. Proportions of Respondents Using Mostly Spanish in Different Reading Situations in 1973, by Sex

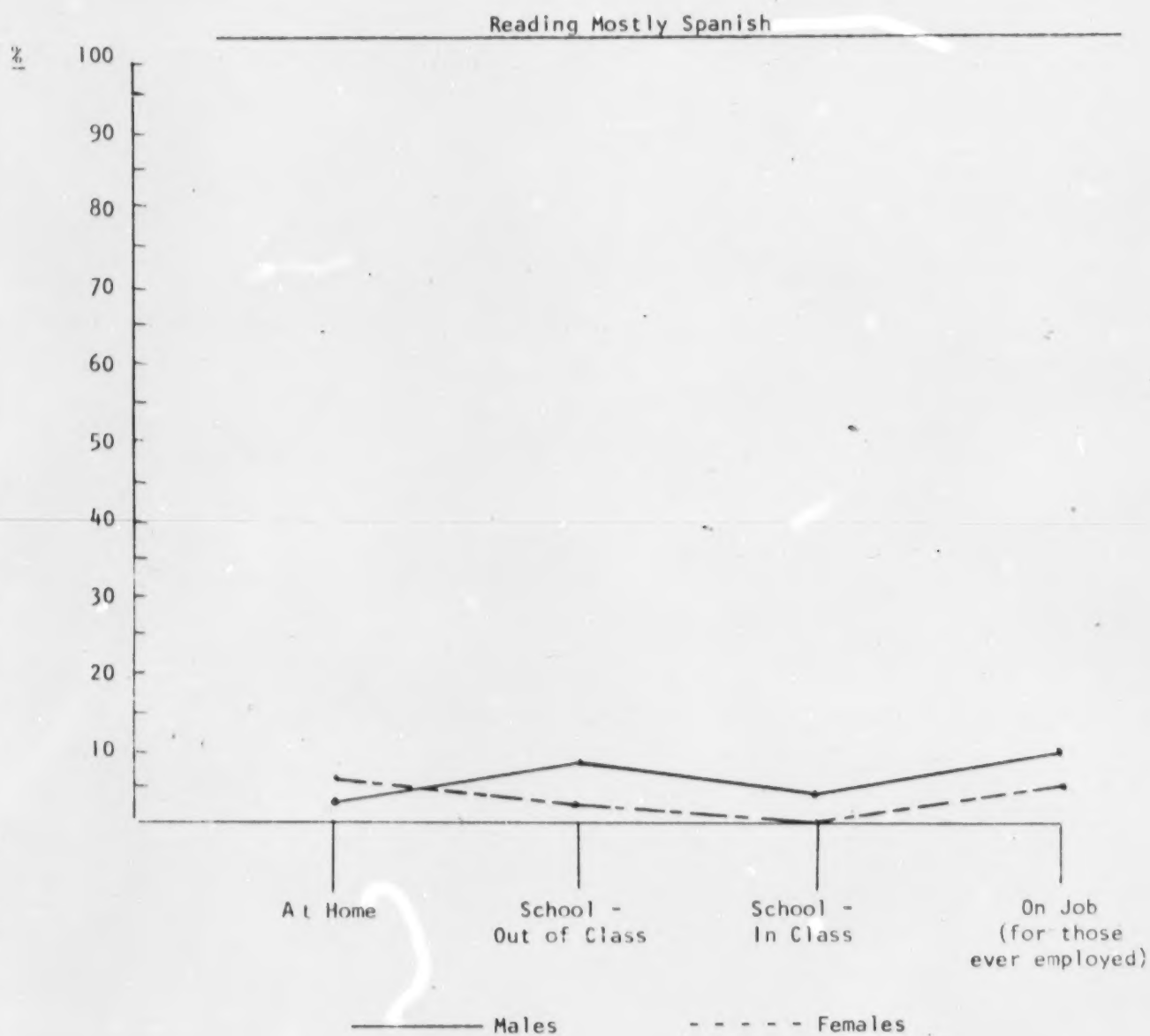


Figure 10. Proportions of Respondents Using Mostly Spanish in Different Writing Situations in 1973, by Sex

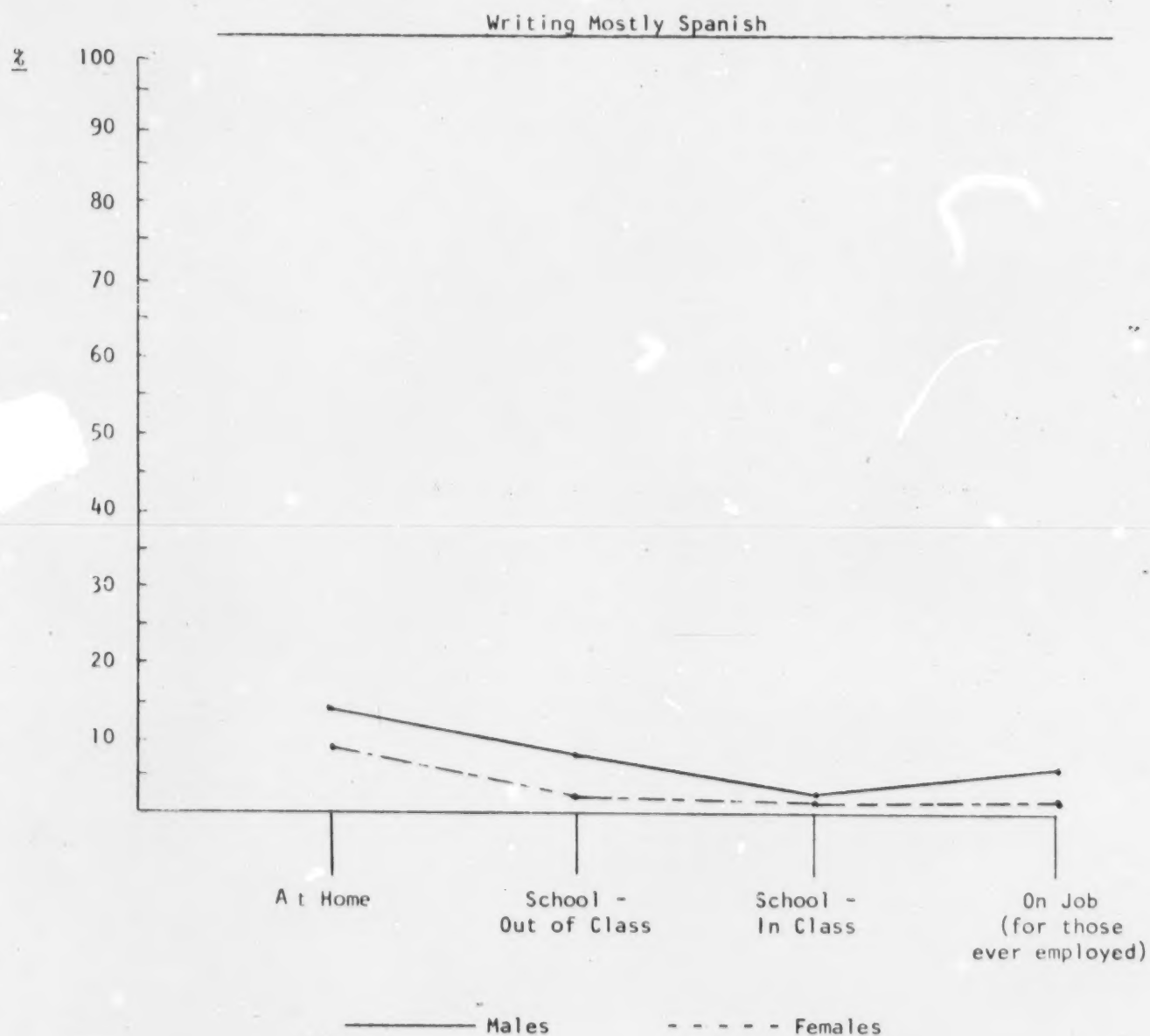


Figure 11. Proportions of Respondents Indicating Bilingual Patterns
In Different Reading Situations in 1973, by Sex

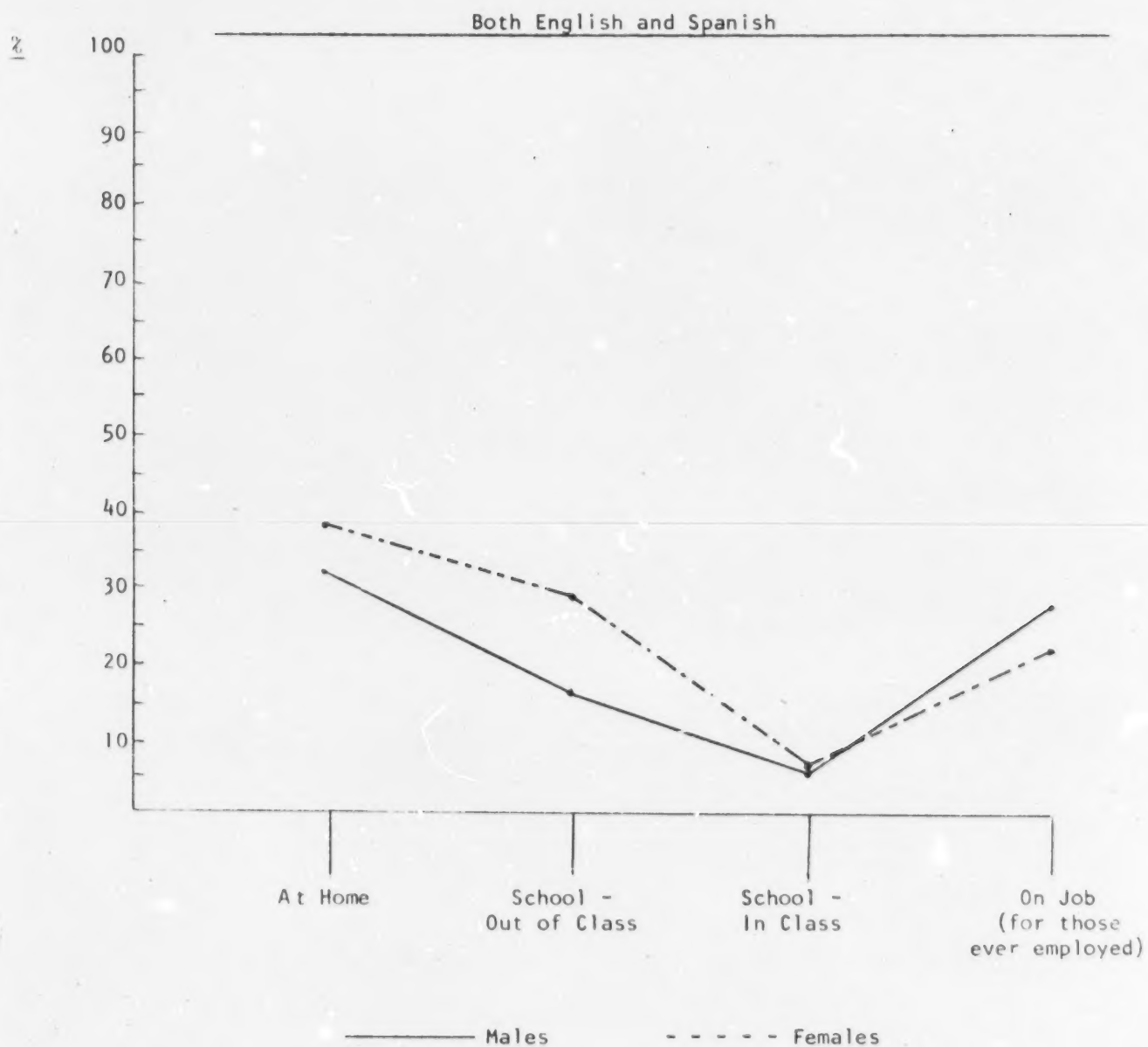
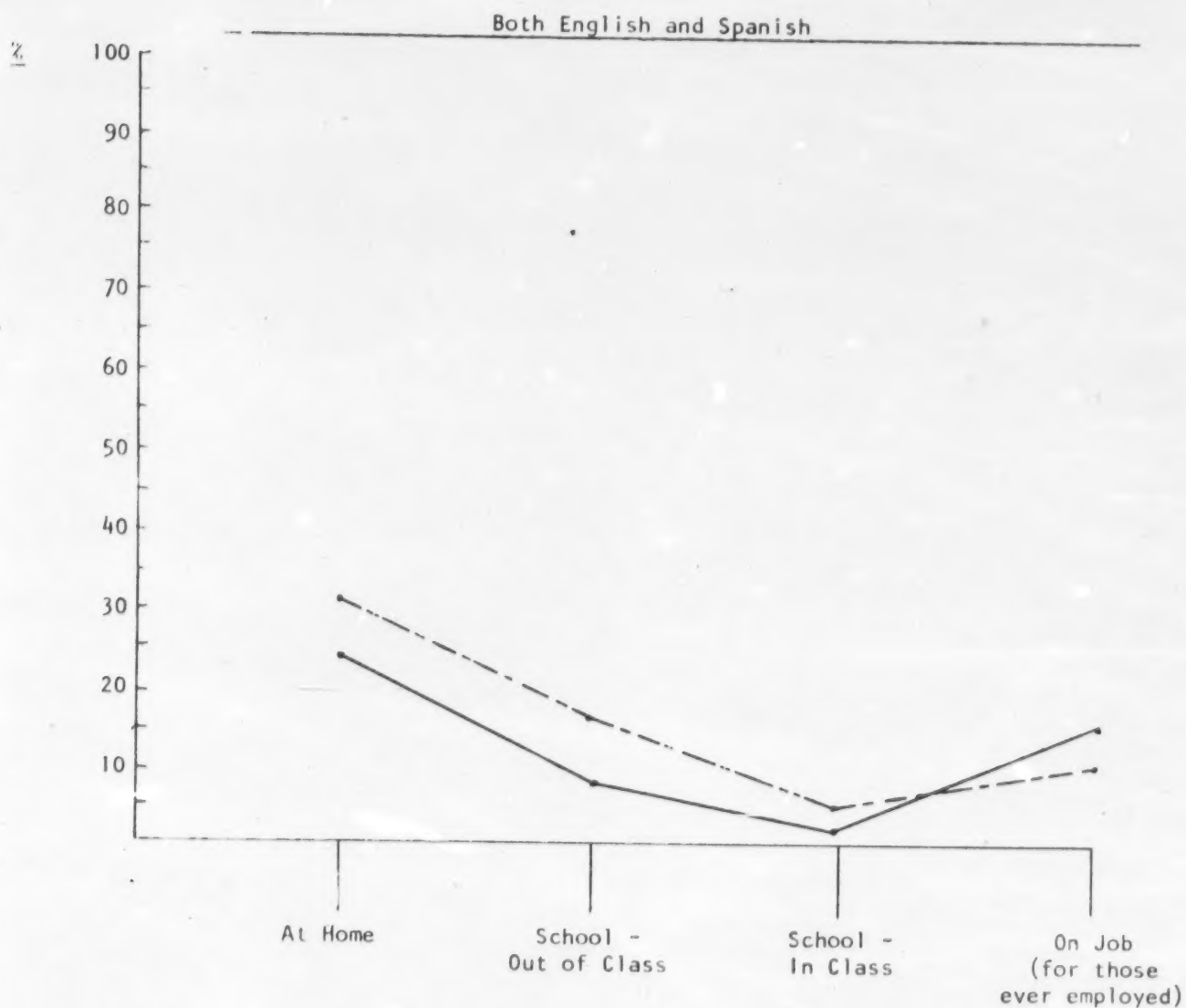


Figure 12. Proportions of Respondents Indicating Writing Bilingual Patterns In Different Situations in 1973, by Sex



III. PERCEIVED USE OF SPANISH BY OTHERS - 1973

It is important to know about subjects' perceptions of other people's behavior, in addition to their own, in order to gain an understanding of how their own behavioral patterns relate to their social context. We attempted to get at this through the use of two questions eliciting their perceptions of language patterns used by two groupings of significant others (parents and friends) in informal social contexts (see APPENDIX A for replicas of the questions used).

Use of Spanish by Parents (Tables 22, 23, and 24)

There are no significant differences between the responses of males and females to any of the three items concerning their parents' language patterns. The speaking patterns of parents were reported to be largely Spanish dominant--64% reported "mostly Spanish," and 95% reported "mostly Spanish" or "both" for their parents. Very few indicated their parents used "mostly English." This Spanish dominance decreases substantially when it comes to reading with only a nine percent difference, as compared with 59% above, between the "mostly English" and "mostly Spanish" categories, though the latter is still the larger. Likewise, in the case of parents' writing, the difference between the two categories is about ten percent, though both are a little higher, and the "both" category is smaller.

Use of Spanish by Friends (Table 25, 26, 27 and 28)

In writing letters to personal friends, both males and females were highly English dominant, though males were more so than females. More males claimed "mostly English," while more females claimed "both." Use of "mostly Spanish" was reported by only small numbers of both boys

Table 22. Parents Language Pattern Used when Speaking by Sex of Respondent.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	11	6	9	4	20	5
Mostly Spanish	120	68	119	60	239	64
Both	<u>45</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>117</u>	<u>31</u>
Total	176	100	200	100	376	100
No Info	2		1		3	

$$\chi^2 = 4.92$$

$$D.F. = 2$$

$$P = > .08, < .09$$

Table 23. Language Used by Parents in Reading by Sex of Respondent.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	54	31	50	25	104	28
Mostly Spanish	67	39	72	36	139	37
Both	<u>52</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>35</u>
Total	173	100	199	100	372	100

No Info	5		2		7	
---------	---	--	---	--	---	--

$$\chi^2 = 3.38$$

$$D.F. = 2$$

$$P = > .10, < .20$$

Table 24. Language Used by Parents in Writing by Sex of Respondent.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	62	36	56	28	118	32
Mostly Spanish	74	43	81	41	155	42
Both	<u>37</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>26</u>
Total	173	100	198	100	371	100

No Info 5 3 8

$$\chi^2 = 4.84$$

$$D.F. = 2$$

$$P = >.08, <.09$$

Table 25. Language Used by Respondents in Writing Letters to Personal Friends by Sex of Respondent.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	107	84	128	76	235	79
Mostly Spanish	11	9	11	6	22	7
Both	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>14</u>
Total	128	100	169	100	297	100

No Info 50 32 82

$$\chi^2 = 6.34$$

$$D.F. = 2$$

$$P = >.01, <.05$$

Table 26. Language Used by Friends in Speaking by Sex of Respondent.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	28	16	40	20	68	18
Mostly Spanish	72	41	34	17	106	28
Both	<u>76</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>54</u>
Total	176	100	201	100	377	100

No. Info 2 0 2

$$\chi^2 = 27.01 \quad D.F. = 2$$

$$P = <.001$$

Table 27. Language Used by Friends in Reading Outside of Class by Sex of Respondent.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	124	71	123	61	247	66
Mostly Spanish	19	11	15	8	34	9
Both	<u>31</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>25</u>
Total	174	100	201	100	375	100

No. Info 4 0 4

$$\chi^2 = 9.47 \quad D.F. = 2$$

$$P = >.001, <.01$$

Table 28. Language Used by Friends in Writing, Outside of Class,
by Sex of Respondent.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mostly English	141	81	151	75	292	78
Mostly Spanish	16	9	11	6	27	7
Both	<u>17</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>15</u>
Total	174	100	201	100	375	100

No Info

4

0

4

$$\chi^2 = 8.01$$

$$D.F. = 2$$

$$P = >.01, <.05$$

and girls.

There is a strong difference between males and females relative to language spoken by friends. While the 'mostly English' category is about the same for both sexes, a much higher proportion of males than females chose the 'mostly Spanish' category, and a much higher proportion of females than males chose the 'both' category. So it seems that the females were describing their friends as less Spanish dominant than the males were.

In their reading and writing outside class, the friends of the respondents were described as clearly English dominant. Two-thirds of the group claimed 'mostly English' reading patterns and over three-fourths reported 'mostly English' writing patterns for their friends. There are significant sex differences, however. Relative to reading, the males choose the 'mostly English' category more than the females, while the females choose the 'both' category more than the males. Relative to writing, the differences are smaller, but the very same pattern occurred, suggesting that the males see their friends as more English dominant in writing and reading than the females do.

Summary

Quite clearly the respondents' perceptions of parents' and friends' language patterns are quite comparable to their own self-reported behavior patterns. The sex differences in language usage of the respondents are paralleled in their perceptions of their parents' and friends' language usage. Parents are perceived as highly Spanish dominant by both males and females, and friends of females are more English dominant than friends of males.

DISCUSSION

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It would be inappropriate to conclude without pointing to several crucial limitations of this data, which should be kept in mind in analyzing it. First, it is based upon self-report of a politically-sensitive and emotionally charged phenomenon. Even under the best of conditions, valid and reliable data are difficult to obtain. Exploration of the methodological problems involved remain to be accomplished.

Second, although we have been trying to tap an ever-increasing ~~variety~~ variety of contexts of language usage, our categories remain very crude. Joshua Fishman (1971) warns us of the complex ways in which language usage varies even within a particular setting, such as the home, or at school. He recommends that we alert ourselves to that complexity and take note not only of who is speaking what language to whom, but of what variety of a particular language they are utilizing, for what purposes, in what specific setting within the home or the school, with what consequences, and so on. We need to know more about the "whoms" and the settings, and the when and why of switching between English and Spanish, and about the specific characteristics of the English and Spanish that are being used.

Finally, the crudeness of our language usage measures implies that there would probably have to be rather marked changes in language behavior for it to be reflected in our data. That is, all other considerations aside, change may be occurring, but it is not reflected in our gross response categories of "mostly English," or "mostly Spanish" or "both."

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The data in all three areas of concern have been summarized earlier after each of the three sections of the "Findings" above; it will not be recapitulated here. The major conclusions of our analysis are presented and discussed below.

Historical Change: 1967-1973

The patterned decrease in Spanish usage observed for both males and females, from the home setting, to the neighborhood and the school, was repeated in 1973, but with an interesting twist. The decrease is less dramatic in 1973 than before, with both males and females using more Spanish with their friends outside class than in 1967. This is difficult to explain. We could speculate that the schools are simply being less repressive about the use of Spanish, but there is no evidence to suggest that. However, there was much more Chicano movement activity in the study area in 1973 than in 1967. That might have led to this finding in one of two ways: the school probably was pressured to be less repressive about the use of Spanish outside of class, or, regardless of school conditions, a heightened ethnicity might have led students to use more Spanish. Or, this greater politicization might have had another effect - while not necessarily affecting language behavior, it might indeed have affected the way respondents chose to characterize their language usage patterns on a questionnaire. As the rhetoric of the movement is generally supportive of the use of Spanish and of its value, students might have been influenced by ideology to overestimate, or in fact, to estimate more accurately than in 1967, the amount of Spanish they use at school even though it is forbidden.

The patterned increase observed in the use of "mostly Spanish" in

almost all settings for males and females may also spring from a change in political orientations leading to a change in the way respondents perceive their language usage patterns. We cannot say there were no politics in the earlier study, because there clearly were, simply different ones, which involved the devaluation of Spanish, and the stigmatization of it. So it is difficult to know which set of responses are more "realistic," as both have doubtless been influenced by political ideology. More attention should be given to this phenomenon of how language usage patterns are "characterized" as separate from what those patterns might actually be, and the influences upon those characterizations.

It was noted above that the greater English dominance of girls in oral language usage - males used "mostly Spanish" five times as often as females - persists in 1973. Likewise the greater English dominance of boys in use of written mass media persists in the 1973 data as in the 1967 data - two-thirds of males claimed to use no Spanish, and over half of the females claimed at least some. We speculated on the reason for that difference in our earlier report on the 1967 results, supposing that it might lie with the alleged strong sex-role differentiation of the Mexican American culture, with females trained to be docile and obedient, and males to be more independent. This socialization difference, then, might lead to females being more conforming in school, where spoken English is a focus of great concern. That explanation should be broadened, however, to take into account academic performance differences of males and females in this society as a whole. Females in general, probably due to dependence training, are more verbally

skilled than males (Maccoby, 1963). If that training difference and its likely effect operate on Mexican American females in the same way as upon Anglo females - and there is no reason to expect otherwise - then it might explain the greater tendency of females to read in Spanish. Although about half of the males and females studied Spanish in school (as noted in the new "1973-only" data), the females might be more likely to utilize their training with written Spanish due to their greater competence with verbal skills.

1973 Study

Oral language usage patterns were largely English dominant in class - to be expected as the language of instruction is English. But even here males used Spanish more than females, and nine percent of the total group claimed to use mostly Spanish anyway. We wondered above how that might come to pass. It may be that students are generally quiet in terms of speaking out before the whole class - an effective political tool for a subordinate group, as Dumont (1972) points out in a study of how Sioux and Cherokee children use silence to maintain control of the classroom. At the same time there may be substantial whispered conversation going on among students, as any school teacher will testify, and that could well take place largely in Spanish; in fact, there could be much good reason for it to be in Spanish rather than English for the sake of privacy.

The 1973 data indicated that although the great majority of males and females claimed to speak, read, and write Spanish, more females than males claimed reading and writing skills. This explains the finding that females read more magazines and newspapers in Spanish than

males, observed in both 1967 and 1973, they simply have greater skill, and this may be due to the general tendency for American women to have greater verbal skill, as mentioned above. By the same token, males were more English dominant in their letter writing than females - learning to write English and being comfortable in it is a major goal of the schools, and most males have accomplished it. But Spanish writing receives much, much less attention, and so not as many have accomplished it. But if females are more verbally skilled, and more intent on success in school, they may be generally dominating that skill - writing in Spanish - in spite of the scanty attention it receives.

The perceived language usage patterns of parents and friends closely paralleled those reported by the respondents for themselves. Thus, these Mexican American youth see themselves to be in harmony with their contexts of interaction, using more or less Spanish in accordance with situational norms for language usage they perceive. If this inference is valid, then it follows that different role definitions involved in the status sets of these Mexican American youth have as elements varying specifications for the appropriateness of use of Spanish. For instance, most of these youth are probably expected by the family to use only or mostly Spanish in speaking to their parents, while at the other extreme, their teachers probably hold rigid expectations for them to use only English in addressing the class or the teachers in the school classroom.

In closing, we would like to point out the need for more refined and extensive study of the language patterns of Mexican American youth than is represented by this investigation. As we have noted earlier

in our review of literature and analysis, much remains to be done in resolving basic methodological questions about how best to obtain valid and reliable data in this sensitive area of research, and, in obtaining comparable data across a wider spectrum of population types (i. e. age groups and regions), to evaluate the scope of general patterns derived from the few and limited studies carried out on this subject so far.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 A detailed discussion of observations about historical change in the study area and the schools located within it is presented in Kuvlesky and Monk (1975: APPENDIX D). It should be noted that aggregate census data used to determine historical change in the selected study counties were obtained from 1960 and 1970 U. S. census reports - this time lapse does not parallel the actual time lapse of the study (1967-1973) very well.
- 2 It should be noted here that the school enrollments across the actual study period (1967-1973) did not reflect an increase in proportion of Mexican American students; in fact, they demonstrated a slight trend to the converse (see APPENDIX B, Table 1). This may be due to the difference in the time frames between the 1960-1970 census data comparison and the actual study period.
- 3 This trend is probably a reflection of the more general improvement in economic conditions across the U. S. during the late sixties. It should not be interpreted to mean that the respondents' families had generally achieved dramatic or long-lasting improvements in their life situations. A more accurate judgement would be that the general status of these families changed little in a relative sense over the time period examined.
- 4 Mike Miller informally interviewed administrators, counselors, and students in the study area and, also, specifically looked for availability of Spanish language reading materials.
- 5 While this was a slight trend, it does not fit well with the observation that the general occupational and economic statuses of Mexican Americans improved from 1960 to 1970 in the study area. The most likely explanation of this apparent incongruence is the difference in the historical time-frame involved in the census vs. the actual study data.
- 6 The one exception to this general statement is that for the El Paso youth, females tended to use Spanish slightly more frequently than males, while the South Texas respondents demonstrated a converse pattern.
- 7 The no response rate to the questions on writing Spanish and reading Spanish in various situations were relatively high, as compared with a very low rate in reference to speaking it (see Tables 12 through 19). This may indicate a hesitancy for some respondents to indicate their lack of full ability to utilize their native language. Probably many of those who indicated they could read and write Spanish have very limited capabilities to do so. This is an area that will require considerable methodological effort if it is to be researched adequately.

REFERENCES

- Dumont, Robert V., Jr. "Learning English and How to be Silent: Studies in Sioux and Cherokee Classrooms." Pp. 344-369 in Courtney B. Cazden, Vera P. John and Dell Hymes (eds.), *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972.
- Fishman, Joshua A. "The Sociology of Language: An Interdisciplinary Social Science Approach to Language in Society," in Joshua A. Fisherman (ed.), *Advances in the Sociology of Language*, Vol. 1. Mouton: The Hague, 1971.
- Grebler, Leo, Moore, Joan W., and Guzman, Ralph C. *The Mexican-American People*. New York: Free Press, 1970, p. 426.
- Juarez, Rinaldo Z. and Kuvlesky, William P. "Ethnic Groups Identity and Orientations Toward Educational Attainment: A Comparison of Mexican American and Anglo Boys." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwest Sociological Assoc., Dallas, April, 1968.
- Kuvlesky, William P. "Use Of Spanish And Aspirations For Social Mobility Among Chicanos: A Synthesis And Evaluation Of Texas And Colorado Findings." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rocky Mountain Social Science Association, Laramie, Wyoming, 1973.
- Kuvlesky, William P. and Monk, Philip M. "Historical Change In Status Aspirations And Expectations of Mexican American Youth From The Border Area Of Texas: 1967-1973." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwest Sociological Association, San Antonio, March 27, 1975.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E. "Woman's Intellect." Pp. 24-38 in S. M. Farber and R. H. L. Wilson (eds.), *The Potential of Women*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.
- Mahoney, Mary. "Spanish and English Language Usage by Mexican American Families in Two South Texas Counties." Unpublished Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, 1967.
- Patella, Victoria, and Kuvlesky, P. "Situational Variation In Language Patterns of Mexican American Boys and Girls," *SSQ* (March, 1973), 855-864.
- Skrabaneck, Robert L. "Language Maintenance Among Mexican Americans." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. 11 (Dec., 1970), pp. 272-282.
- Venegas, Moises. "Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Expectations of El Paso High School Students." Unpublished Doctor of Education Dissertation, New Mexico State Univ., May, 1973.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LANGUAGE USE INSTRUMENTS

Those items with a (*) were used only in the 1973 surveys.

30. a) Do you speak Spanish? (Circle one number.)

1 Yes

2 No

If you answered yes, you do speak Spanish, answer the following questions:

b) What language do you usually use when speaking with your parents? (Circle one number.)

1 English

2 Spanish

3 About the same
amount of both

c) What language do you usually use when talking with your close friends in your neighborhood? (Circle one number.)

1 English

2 Spanish

3 About the same
amount of both

d) What language do you usually use when speaking with your close school friends outside of class? (Circle one number.)

1 English

2 Spanish

3 About the same
amount of both

(e)* What language do you use in speaking in most classes in school? (Circle one number.)

1. English

2 Spanish

3 About the same
amount of both

31. How many of the radio programs you listen to are broadcast in Spanish? (Circle one number.)

1 None

2 Some

3 More-than-half

4 All

32.* How many of the TV programs you watch are broadcast in Spanish?

1. None

2. Some

3. More-than-half

4. All

33. How many of the magazines and newspapers which you read are in Spanish? (Circle one number)

1. None

2. Some

3. More-than-half

4. All

We would like to find out some things about your use of Spanish and English in reading and writing. Please answer the following questions for us.

35.* Can you read Spanish? (Circle one number)

1. yes 2. no

If yes, answer the following:

(1) In reading at home do you read? (Circle one number.)

1. Mostly English 2. Mostly Spanish 3. About the same
amount of both

(2) In reading in most classes at school do you read? (Circle one number.)

1. Mostly English 2. Mostly Spanish 3. About the same
amount of both

(3) In reading in school outside of classes do you read? (Circle one number)

1. Mostly English 2. Mostly Spanish 3. About the same
amount of both

(4) In reading on the job do you read? (Circle one number.)

1. Mostly English 2. Mostly Spanish 3. About the same
amount of both
4. Never employed
-

36.* Can you write in Spanish? (Circle one number.)

1. yes 2. no

If yes, answer the following:

(1) Language used in writing at home? (Circle one number)

1. Mostly English 2. Mostly Spanish 3. About the same
amount of both

(2) Language used in writing in most classes at school? (Circle one number.)

1. Mostly English 2. Mostly Spanish 3. About the same
amount of both

(3) Language used in writing at school, outside of classes? (Circle one number)

1. Mostly English 2. Mostly Spanish 3. About the same
amount of both

(4) Language used in writing on job? (Circle one number)

1. Mostly English 2. Mostly Spanish 3. About the same
amount of both
4. Never Employed

(5) Language used in writing letters to personal friends? (Circle one number)

1. Mostly English 2. Mostly Spanish 3. About the same
amount of both

We would like to know something about the language used by your family and friends. Please answer the following questions.

37*. Which pattern of language use best describes your close friends generally in terms of each of the following uses of language:

	<u>Mostly Spanish</u>	<u>Mostly English</u>	<u>Same Amount of Both</u>
1. Speaking	_____	_____	_____
2. Writing (Outside of Class)	_____	_____	_____
3. Reading (Outside of Class)	_____	_____	_____

38*. Which pattern of language use best describes your parents:

1. Speaking	_____	_____	_____
2. Writing	_____	_____	_____
3. Reading	_____	_____	_____

26.* Have you taken a Spanish course in school? (Circle one number.)

1. Yes 2. No

APPENDIX B: SUPPLEMENTARY DATA

Table 1. High School Sophomores Interviewed in Rural South Texas Study area in 1967 and 1973 by Ethnicity and Sex.

Ethnicity	1967			1973		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mexican American	169	172	341	178	201	379
Anglo	4	9	13	15	15	30
Other	0	0	0	5	2	7
Total	173	181	354	198	218	416
No Response						3

1. FUNCTIONAL USE OF SPANISH AMONG RESPONDENTS BY SEX

Table 2. Do You Speak Spanish?

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	175	98	200	100	375	99
No	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	178	100	201	100	379	100

$$\chi^2 = 1.28 \quad \text{D.F.} = 1$$

$$P = >.25, <.26$$

Table 3. Can You Read Spanish?

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	142	80	176	88	318	84
No	<u>36</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>16</u>
Total	178	100	201	100	379	100

$$\chi^2 = 4.24 \quad \text{D.F.} = 1$$

$$P = >.01, <.05$$

Table 4. Can You Write Spanish?

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	120	69	165	82	285	76
No	<u>54</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>24</u>
Total	174	100	201	100	375	100

No Info	4		0		4	
---------	---	--	---	--	---	--

$$\chi^2 = 8.81 \quad \text{D.F.} = 1$$

$$P = >.001, <.01$$